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# The Khotanese fragmentary folio IOL Khot 7/7: verses 15.73–84 of the *Book of Zambasta* rediscovered?

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*In memory of Margarita Iosifovna Vorob'ëva-Desyatovskaja (1933–2021)*

## Abstract

The article contains an edition and translation with metrical analysis, commentary, and glossary of the Old Khotanese fragmentary folio IOL Khot 7/7 (Kha. 0012a), which deals with the selflessness of phenomena, refers to the *Ratnaketu(parivarta)*, and mentions the *pratyātmagauvara-* ‘realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata)’ and the *ttathāggata-garba-* ‘germ of a Tathāgata’. The article suggests that it contains verses 15.73–84 of the *Book of Zambasta* and offers reinterpretations and etymologies of the rare words *gṛīrī-* ‘person’ < Iranian *\*grīuā-* (cf. Sogdian *γryw*) and *haṇjsārrā-* (collective) ‘carving tools’ < Iranian *\*ham-čarθ-nā-* from the root *\*kart-* ‘to cut’.

## Keywords

Khotanese Buddhist texts, *Book of Zambasta*, Khotanese manuscripts, selflessness, *\*pratyātmagocara*, *tathāgatagarbha*, *Ratnaketuparivarta*

## Introduction

The Old Khotanese fragmentary folio studied here is kept in the British Library under the shelf number IOL Khot 7/7 corresponding to the original signature Kha[dalik] 0012a (Figs. 1–2).<sup>1</sup> Only three fourths of the folio are preserved, the right end being lost. The fragment is now 10.2 cm high, 39.2 cm wide, and has six lines per page. The punch hole is between the third and fourth lines after 8 to 10 akṣaras (including punctuation). The folio bears the number 135 in the left margin of the obverse. Many akṣaras are partly effaced.

The folio was first published in transcription by Harold W. Bailey and then re-edited and provided with a working translation by Prods O. Skjærvø, who labelled its content as ‘\*Z’ and, thus, tentatively assigned it to the religious poem known as the *Book of Zambasta* (Z for short).<sup>2</sup> This can hardly be doubted because the metrical text it contains

<sup>1</sup>. For the comments and suggestions they made after reading a draft of this article, it is a pleasure to thank Chen Ruixuan, Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, Alessandro Del Tomba, Doug Hitch (who also kindly polished my English), Nicholas Sims-Williams, and several of my students. Specific contributions are acknowledged in each individual case. — Conventions used in the edition and the translation are: \* = emendation, with MS reading in a note; \* = blank in the manuscript corresponding to about the average space of an akṣara; [abc] = lacuna and its restoration; <abc> = editor’s supplement where the manuscript has no lacuna.

<sup>2</sup>. KBT 11; Catalogue 174–175. Edition and translation of the *Book of Zambasta* in Emmerick 1968. In quotations from the *Book of Zambasta*, I arrange the text metrically, when quotations are in display

is arranged in such a way that each manuscript line corresponds to a single verse and is divided into four sections that ideally match the metrical subdivisions of the verses. This produces an elegant layout in four columns which was probably reserved for the highly esteemed *Book of Zambasta*, since it is found in its main manuscript (Z<sub>1</sub> for short) and virtually all of its fragmentarily preserved folios and fragments from other manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

The connections of folio IOL Khot 7/7 with the *Book of Zambasta* are not only formal, however. The text deals with a core teaching of the Mahāyāna, that is, the selflessness of phenomena (Khotanese *hära*- ‘thing’ = Sanskrit *dharma*-), and refers to the *Ratnaketu(parivarta)*, a text of the *Mahāsannipāta* collection (cf. Z 13.13 *mahāsandāvātā*). It also mentions the *prattyātmaggaucara*- ‘realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata)’ and the *ttathāggataggarbha*- ‘germ of a Tathāgata’. The folio must belong to one of the large gaps in Z<sub>1</sub>. It is, however, from a different manuscript. Unfortunately, the loss of its right quarter entails the loss not only of the fourth pāda of each verse, but also of the verse numbers that were often written at the end of lines and that could have helped us to locate the text.

The subject matter is similar to that of chapter 7, from which the twelve verses 48–60, corresponding to one folio, are missing in Z<sub>1</sub>. One might be tempted to identify the text as belonging to this gap, but this is highly improbable because all the extant verses of chapter 7 are in metre C, whereas the present verses are in metre A.<sup>4</sup> Other chapters at times alternate different verse types, but there is always a reason for this.<sup>5</sup> There seems, however, to be no such reason in the case of chapter 7.

There seems to be also a connection with chapter 23, whose verses 54–89 and 174–365 are missing and which is entirely in metre A, but the Chinese parallel to this chapter does not contain anything similar to the text under consideration (cf. the Commentary on 82 below).

Since there are twelve lines to a folio both in the present fragment and in Z<sub>1</sub>, if chapter 1 was not the first chapter of the work, as was maintained by Ernst and Manu Leumann,<sup>6</sup> and the foliation of our manuscript was the same as in Z<sub>1</sub>, then our fol. 135 belongs to one of the lost chapters that preceded the incomplete chapter 1, whose text must have started on fol. 143.<sup>7</sup>

Alternatively, however, there is the possibility that Z<sub>1</sub> was a miscellaneous manuscript containing one or more texts before the *Book of Zambasta* and that the latter actually began with chapter 1 on fol. 143.<sup>8</sup> In this case, our fol. 135 would correspond to Z<sub>1</sub>’s fol. 277 (= 142 + 135), which belongs to chapter 15. The extant parts of chapter 15 are all in metre A like our folio with the exception of the metre C verses 114–123, which occur towards the end of the chapter, are addressed to the Buddha, and summarise his teaching (given below). Unfortunately, chapter 15 is badly preserved since three of the

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form, and I insert slashes in quotations in the running text to indicate pāda division where this is not already marked by punctuation. I follow Emmerick’s translation unless otherwise specified.

<sup>3</sup> This applies only partially to the early Berlin manuscript bi 33 (T III S 16). See Maggi 2004: 187.

<sup>4</sup> On Old Khotanese metrics, see Hitch 2014 with references to earlier literature.

<sup>5</sup> See Maggi 2017: 153 n. 4 for examples of inserts in metre C encapsulated into chapters otherwise composed in metres A or B.

<sup>6</sup> See Leumann 1933–1936: ix, xii; Leumann 1967: 367 n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> See Leumann 1933–1936: ix; Emmerick 1968: xiv.

<sup>8</sup> See Emmerick 1968: xiv; Maggi 2009: 350–351.

originally eleven and a half folios containing it are missing (275–277 with Z 15.49–84), eight of the extant ones are defective (apart from fol. 271), and ‘[t]he position of fol. 278 is conjectural, as the folio number is not visible’, so that ‘[a]fter the first folio the sequence of thought is not clear’.<sup>9</sup> The metre C passage Z 15.114–123 bears some resemblance to the content of our folio:

114 *sarvañā balysa . kho hađe ttärä rrašto hvatai*  
 [...]

115 *hūsta gyadīna . hūña ṣā' samñā umā*  
 [...]

116 *jsīda jađīna satva samtsera bi[śśā]*  
 [...]

117 *drṣṭā väcätre ośe parikalpā ttu[śśe]<sup>10</sup>*  
 [...]

118 *ttuśśā abhāva biśśā sarvadharma [...]*  
 [...]

119 *aysmū śśūkā . tcamāna ā[...]*  
 [...]

120 *gyad]īna cā[']ye mā[ñand- ...]*  
 [...]

121 *kho ūca banhya . āyāre trāmä [...]*  
 [...]

122 *aysmū trāmä samu kho ātāśā [ttuśśai]*  
 [...]

123 *crrāma vasutāña ātīña dätte tcarä*  
 [...]

<sup>114</sup> O all-knowing Buddha, but how very rightly you have spoken [...]: <sup>115</sup> You are sleeping through ignorance. In a dream that *samjñā* of yours [...] <sup>116</sup> Deceived through ignorance are all beings in *samsāra* [...] <sup>117</sup> Various views, evil *parikalpas*, em[pty] (Emmerick: this) [...] <sup>118</sup> All the *dharmas* are empty, unreal, [...] <sup>119</sup> The mind alone in which [...] <sup>120</sup> through ignorance, resembling magic [...] <sup>121</sup> As trees are reflected in water, so [...] <sup>122</sup> The mind is just like space, [empty ...] <sup>123</sup> As a face appears in a clean mirror ...].<sup>11</sup>

Comparison of *parikalpa*- ‘false assumption’ in Z 15.117 with the insistence on *parikalpa*-, *samkalpa*- ‘fancy’, and *vikalpa*- ‘false discrimination’ in v2–4 below, as well as of 115 with r1 (sleeping imagination [*samjñā*-] because of ignorance), 120 with r5 (ignorance and magic), and 119, 122 with v6 (mind alone like a sky without clouds), indicates a thematic similarity between chapter 15 and our folio.

A further thematic connection may be detected in Z<sub>1</sub>’s fragmentary fol. 278 (?), whose number and content as verses 15.85–96 were conjectured by Vladimir S. Vorob’ëv-Desyatovskij.<sup>12</sup> This folio extols the qualities of the Bodhisattvas of the

<sup>9.</sup> Emmerick 1968: 229.

<sup>10.</sup> My supplement.

<sup>11.</sup> Trans. after Emmerick with modifications.

<sup>12.</sup> According to him, ‘Следы сохранившейся цифры несколько походят по очертаниям на 8, поэтому можно предположить, что это фрагмент листа 278 [The extant traces of the figure are somewhat similar in outline to 8, so that it can be assumed that this is a fragment of folio 278]’ (in Vorob’ëv-Desyatovskij and Vorob’ëva-Desyatovskaja 1965: 15; cf. Vorob’ëv-Desyatovskij 1955: 70),

Mahāyāna and, in its last legible sentences, one reads:

94 (?) [sa]māhānyau jsa nuvaśtāre    *kho samtsārā padamgya dharmānu* [...]

95 (?) [+]+ -ä dātā mahāyānā    *vasutā ttārī hāde*  
[...]

<sup>94</sup>They investigate by meditations how *samsāra* is a manifestation of *dharmas* [...].

<sup>95</sup>[...] the Law of the Mahāyāna is pure, but those [...].

Although the last verse and a half (95cd–96 [?]) are virtually lost so that the connection is unclear, these sentences may well precede and introduce the core Mahāyāna teachings summarised in the fragmentary folio IOL Khot 7/7 bearing the number 135 and possibly corresponding to Z<sub>1</sub>'s lost fol. 277. If this is so, then the alleged fol. \*278 would in reality be fol. \*276 with verses 15.61–72, whereas the verses in our folio would be the subsequent verses 15.73–84 of the *Book of Zambasta*.

### Transcription

folio 135 (100 30 5)<sup>13</sup>

r1 hūsaṁkya saṁñā gyaḍīna . kye \* \* ttu hūñā daiyā cu ništā pra- \* \* ttyātmaggaucarā amggā paba[

r2 bāysādye<sup>14</sup> saṁñā ni huštā vi- \* \* ñānā harbiśśā īste . ttathā- \* \* ggataggarbhā<sup>15</sup> haraysde . ni ka[

r3 ratanīnai māñätā vūḍā da- \* \* śi<sup>16</sup> ratnakettu aggamjsu . sarvam- \* \* ñā<sup>17</sup> baysä briyūnā śī tta hva- \* [

r4 prattyātmaggaucarā dvāsu . \* \* ttätä amgga pracai īñā paba \* \* saindā jaḍīna anāstanā mu- \* \* [

r5 kho ju cāya närmändä ha- \* \* ndaru rūvu hūsandä śśānye \* \* pātco hūñā däte handa- \* \* [

r6 ttrāmu<sup>18</sup> ttätä jaḍī dvāsu . \* \* pabastau jsīrgye hanāsä a- \* \* bhāvāna ttārā ne byaure ku \* \* [

v1 ggandharvanaggarä ṣa kamtha pada- \* \* ndä na hirṣtai ništā ttrāmu hi- \* \* ra biśśā avadanda samu hivi- \* \* [

v2 ggrrī-vaktrrā ggrrī-ysä u ggrrī-dasta \* \* uī loviye dašte hama- \* \* tä samkalpā vikalpi sambā- \* \* [

v3 dyūlā biḍa ttamda u baurä \* \* hamdurna lovī jñānā dyūlā \* \* samkalpa vikalpa . sambā- \* \* [

v4 samkalpa-mātrā ātma . \* \* parikalpa-mātrā gge'ha vi- \* \* kalpa-mātrā hamjsārra sam- \* \* [

but no such traces are visible in the facsimile, where the folio number is followed by a question mark (p. 102).

<sup>13</sup>. Though many akṣaras are partly effaced, this is not pointed out in the transcription by using *italics* because they can be read with a high degree of confidence.

<sup>14</sup>. Bailey and Skjærvø *bāysādye*.

<sup>15</sup>. Bailey and Skjærvø *ttathaggatadharma*.

<sup>16</sup>. Bailey and Skjærvø *diśa*.

<sup>17</sup>. Bailey and Skjærvø *sarvañā*.

<sup>18</sup>. Bailey *ndrāmu*.

v5 ttrāmu<sup>19</sup> samu jađī cu škauňje \* \* samu kho hamjsārra<sup>20</sup> u pīsä \* \* vijñānā rūvā u yāva kā[  
 v6 jađī ju hirṣṭai ništā vina \* \* aysmuī karju ni byaude vina \* \* jađī aysmū ūśūkā āgāśā [

### Critical text

73 <sup>r1</sup>hūsam̄kyā sam̄nā gyadīna . kye ttu hūnā daiyā cu ništā  
 prattyātmaggaucarā amggā paba[stau<sup>21</sup> ́ ́ ́ ́ ]  
 74 <sup>r2</sup>bäysādye sam̄nā ni \*hūstā<sup>22</sup> viñānā harbiśśā īste .  
 ttathāggataggarbhā haraysde . ni ka[ ́ ́ ́ ́ ́ ]  
 75 <sup>r3</sup>ratānīnai mānātā vūdā daśi ratnakettu aggamjsu .  
 sarvam̄nā ba⟨l⟩ysä<sup>23</sup> briyūnā ūtī tta hva—[te<sup>24</sup> ́ ́ ́ ́ ]  
 76 <sup>r4</sup>prattyātmaggaucarā dvāsu . ttātā amggā pracai īnā  
 paba⟨stau<sup>25</sup> saindā jađīna anāstanā mu[ ́ ́ ́ ́ ]  
 77 <sup>r5</sup>kho ju cā'ya närmändä {handaru}<sup>26</sup> rūvu hūsandā ūśānye pātco  
 hūnā dāte handa[ru rūvu hārju vara ttatvatu ništā]<sup>27</sup>  
 78 <sup>r6</sup>ttrāmu ttātā jađī dvāsu . pabastau jsīrgye hanāsā  
 abhāvāna ttārā ne byaure ku [ye prracā rraṣtu paysendā]<sup>28</sup>  
 79 <sup>v1</sup>ggandharvanaggarā ūtī kam̄tha \*padāna \*nā<sup>29</sup> hirṣṭai ništā  
 ttrāmu hira biśśā avadāna samu hivi[ñe sam̄nē jsa saindā]<sup>30</sup>  
 80 <sup>v2</sup>ggrrī-vaktrā \*ggrrī-ysäru<sup>31</sup> ggrrī-dasta ⟨u⟩<sup>32</sup> uī loviye daśte  
 hamatā sam̄kalpā vikalpi sambā[ rā<sup>33</sup> ́ ́ ́ ́ ]  
 81 <sup>v3</sup>dyūlā biđa ttām̄da u baurā hamdurna lovī jñānā  
 dyūlā sam̄kalpa vikalpa . sambā[ rā<sup>34</sup> ́ ́ ́ ́ ]  
 82 <sup>v4</sup>sam̄kalpa-mātrā ātma<sup>35</sup> parikalpa-mātrā gge'ha  
 vikalpa-mātrā hamjsārra sam[ñā-mātrei pīsä]<sup>36</sup>  
 83 <sup>v5</sup>ttrāmu samu jađī cu škauňje samu kho hamjsārra u pīsä  
 vijñānā rūvā u yāva kā[ ́ ́ ́ ́ ́ ]  
 84 <sup>v6</sup>jađī ju hirṣṭai ništā vina aysmuī karju ni byaude

19. Skjærvø *trāmu*.

20. Bailey and Skjærvø *hajsārra*.

21. Restoration by Maggi (Skjærvø *paba/st-*).

22. \**hūstā* emended by Maggi for MS *huśtā*.

23. Supplement by Maggi for MS *baysā* (see Commentary).

24. Restoration by Bailey, Dict. 409 s.v. *śī*.

25. Supplement by Maggi (Skjærvø *paba/sta*).

26. Expunction by Nicholas Sims-Williams (see Commentary).

27. Restoration by Maggi (see Commentary).

28. Restoration by Maggi (see Commentary).

29. Emended by Skjærvø for MS *padandā na*.

30. Supplement by Maggi (see Commentary).

31. \**ggrrī-ysäru* emended by Sims-Williams for MS *ggrrī-ysä u*; Bailey and Skjærvø *ggrrī-⟨pā⟩ysä* (see Commentary).

32. Supplement by Maggi (see Commentary).

33. Supplement suggested by Skjærvø's translation 'sambhāraṇa' (cf. Commentary).

34. Supplement suggested by Skjærvø's translation 'sambhāraṇas' (cf. Commentary).

35. Skjærvø has the dot before *ātma*.

36. Restoration by Maggi with *sam[ñā-]* suggested by Sims-Williams (Bailey, Dict. 446 s.v. *hamjsārra* restores *sam[kalpa]* and translates 'samkalpa-thought only ...', which implies *sam[kalpa-mātr-]* (see Commentary).

## Metrical analysis

### Metre A

73	---	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
	- - -	- - -	- - -		- -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
74	---	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
	- - -	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
75	---	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
	- - -	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
76	---	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
	- - -	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
77	---	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
	- - -	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
78	---	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
	- - -	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
79	---	- - - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
	- - -	- - - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
80	---	- - - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+9+3+7
	- - -	- - - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
81	---	- - - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
	- - -	- - - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
82	---	- - - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
	- - -	- - - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+9+3+7
83	---	- - - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
	- - -	- - - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
84	---	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7
	- - -	- - -	- - -		- - -	- -		- - -	- -	5+7+5+7

### Translation

73 There is sleeping imagination because of ignorance<sup>47</sup> for one who sees in a dream that<sup>48</sup> which does not exist. A part of the realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata)

<sup>37</sup>. Supplement by Maggi (see Commentary).

<sup>38</sup>. Read *bāyśā(n)d(i)ye*.

<sup>39</sup>. *ratanīnai* scans as - - - - by metrical shortening (see Leumann 1933–1936: xxxiv § C.a.β).

<sup>40</sup>. *nārmāndā* scans as - - - by metrical shortening.

<sup>41</sup>. Read *śśān(i)ye*.

<sup>42</sup>. Read *d(u)vāsu*.

<sup>43</sup>. *vikalpa-* scans as - - - by metrical lengthening (see Leumann 1933–1936: xxxiv § C.b). Cf. the variants of the loanword *vipāka-* ‘ripening’ with both *vi-* and *vī-* for metrical reasons (see Del Tomba and Maggi 2021: 224 n. 129).

<sup>44</sup>. *jaḍī* scans as - - by metrical lengthening.

<sup>45</sup>. *aysmuī* scans as - - by metrical shortening.

<sup>46</sup>. *pyaurāṇu* scans as - - - by the ‘*uysnora*-effect’ identified by Leumann 1933–1936: xxxiii–xxxiv § C.a.α and so named by Hitch 2014: 15–17 (words with the shape - - - scan as - - - at the end of a 7-mora cadence).

<sup>47</sup>. Dict. 495 s.v. *hūs-*: ‘sleeping consciousness ... through ignorance’.

<sup>48</sup>. Dict. 490 s.v. *hūna-*: ‘who might see it in a dream’.

is continu[ously] ...

74 For one who has waken up, imagination does not sleep,<sup>49</sup> all consciousness returns, the germ of a Tathāgata stretches out,<sup>50</sup> ... not (?) ...

75 It resembles a jewelled banner, encrusted.<sup>51</sup> In the faultless *Ratnaketu(parivarta)*, the all-knowing, lovely Buddha—he spoke thus:<sup>52</sup> ...

76 The realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata) are these twelve parts (in the chain of dependent origination) due to a cause. They appear continu[ously] through ignorance. Without beginning ...

77 As (one) conjures up a shape in magic (or), furthermore, (one), while lying sleeping,<sup>53</sup> has seen another [shape] in a dream<sup>54</sup> [but in reality nothing exists there],

78 so these twelve (parts) (are) ignorance, (are) continuously deceptions (and) error. Because of (their) non-existence, those are not found<sup>55</sup> when [one rightly understands (their) causes].

79 The city of Gandharvanagara (i.e. the fata morgana mirage) is \*produced, (but) it does \*not actually exist. Like that, all things are uncreated.<sup>56</sup> They only [seem] (to exist) because of one's o[wn imagination].

80 A person's<sup>57</sup> mouth, a person's \*heart, a person's hands, <and> the senses fit for ordinary life are themselves (only) a fancy, a false discrimination. The equip[ment] (to awakening) ...

81 Ordinary knowledge is only a deception, a deceit,<sup>58</sup> and (like) heaps of snow.<sup>59</sup> A deception, fancies, false discriminations<sup>60</sup> are (even) the equip[ment] (to awakening and) ...

82 The self is only fancy. A piece of wood is only a false assumption. The carving tools are only a false discrimination.<sup>61</sup> [A statue is only] imagin[ation].<sup>62</sup>

83 The ignorance which are the (karmically) conditioned factors is just like that, just like the carving tools and the statue (carved from wood). Consciousness, form,<sup>63</sup> and (the rest) up to ...

84 Nor does ignorance really exist. Without the mind it is not found at all. Without

<sup>49</sup>. Dict. 286 s.v. *biyān-*: ‘of one awakened the *saṃjñā*-concept does not sleep’.

<sup>50</sup>. Dict. 467 s.v. *haray-*: ‘he offers the *dharma*-doctrine of the *tathāgata*’.

<sup>51</sup>. Dict. 327 s.v. *māññātā*: ‘resembles a jewelled necklace covered (with jewels)’.

<sup>52</sup>. Dict. 409 s.v. *śī*: ‘he so spoke’.

<sup>53</sup>. Dict. 396 s.v. *śāna-*: ‘sleeping, lying down’.

<sup>54</sup>. Dict. 490 s.v. *hūna-*: ‘a form, while lying asleep, then he saw in a dream’; Dict. 495 s.v. *hūs-*: ‘lying asleep he then saw form ... in a dream’.

<sup>55</sup>. Dict. 311 s.v. *byeh-*: ‘those do not exist’; Dict. 451 s.v. *hanāsa-*: ‘in a continuum illusions, assumption, with non-existence, are not found there’.

<sup>56</sup>. Dict. 9 s.v. *avadanda-*: ‘the *gandharva-nagara*- (mirage) is not at all real, so all things are unreal’; Dict. 208 s.v. *padam-*: ‘that built city exists not at all, just like all uncreated things’.

<sup>57</sup>. Dict. 92 s.v. *ggrrī*: ‘held, raised(?)’.

<sup>58</sup>. Dict. 281 s.v. *bīda*: ‘deception, deceit only’.

<sup>59</sup>. Dict. 454 s.v. *hamdurna*: ‘knowledge of this world is only deception, falsehood and a heap of snow’; Dict. 306 s.v. *baura*: ‘snow drift’.

<sup>60</sup>. Dict. 166 s.v. *dyūla-*: ‘worldly knowledge is deception, associative (and) discursive thought’.

<sup>61</sup>. Dict. 90 s.v. *gge'ha*: ‘the ātman-self is *samkalpa*-concept only, the piece of wood is *parikalpa*-imagination only, the sphere is *vikalpa*-discrimination only’.

<sup>62</sup>. Dict. 446 s.v. *hamjsārra*: ‘design is *vikalpa*-thought; *samkalpa*-thought only ...’.

<sup>63</sup>. Dict. 241 s.v. *pīśā*: ‘just as drawing and painting (are) *vijñāna*-knowledge (and) form’; Dict. 446 s.v. *hamjsārra*: ‘just as designing and painting, *vijñāna*-thought (makes) form’.

ignorance the mind is alone,<sup>64</sup> it is a sky [without clouds].

## Commentary

73 *pratyātmagaucaṛā* ‘the realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata)’ mirrors an apparently unattested Sanskrit *\*pratyātmagocara*. Cf. *pratyātma-*, Pa. *paccatta-* ‘separate, individual, personal, by or in oneself’, used at the beginning of compounds or adverbially<sup>65</sup> and especially the Sanskrit compounds *pratyātmagati*, *pratyātmagatigocara* etc., which refer to a ‘state of inner realisation’ exclusive to the Tathāgata, the last and highest state within the framework of the sevenfold *paramārtha* ‘highest reality’ mentioned in chapter 2 of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.<sup>66</sup> The relationship between this concept and the twelve parts (Kh. *amgga-*, Skt. *[bhava-]aṅga*) in the chain of dependent origination (*pratīyasamutpāda*), touched upon presumably here in verse 73 and clearly in verse 76, is doctrinally interesting, for it is reminiscent of how Jñānavajra, a *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* exegete whose commentary is preserved in Tibetan, interpreted the sevenfold *paramārtha*, namely, as recognition ‘that the nature of the dependent origination ... is *śūnyatā*’, emptiness.<sup>67</sup>

74 The short *u* in *huśtā* ‘sleeps’ is at variance with the regular Old Khotanese spelling *hūśtā* (five occurrences including Z 9.17, 12.60, 88). The spelling *huśtā*, to be emended to *\*hūśtā*, is not due to metrical reasons and seems to betray the influence of Late Khotanese, the language spoken by the copyist, where *u* and *ū* interchange in writing (cf. below on 75 *ba⟨l⟩ysä*).

Bailey and Skjærvø read the two last preserved syllables as *nika*. Bailey proposed a meaning ‘ornament’ (← Gāndhārī < Skt. *niṣka-*),<sup>68</sup> but a plural *nika* does not fit the present context). Skjærvø tentatively translates ‘\*Tarnished’<sup>69</sup> (cf. Skt. *niṣkaṣāya-* ‘untarnished’ → Gāndhārī *\*nik(h)aṣāya-?*). Should one restore *ni ka[rmyau* ‘Not by (one’s) actions ...’ before the cadence?

75 The locative singular *ratnakettu aggamjsu*<sup>70</sup> most probably refers to the *Ratnaketuparivarta* and particularly to verse 49 in chapter 3:

49 *tvayopadiṣṭah khalu śāntimārgo  
māyāmarcipratimāś ca dhātavah* ⟨⟩  
*sāṅkalpamātrajanito vata jīvaloko  
ratnatrayam hi śaraṇam varadaṇ vrajāma⟨h⟩* ||(49)||

You have shown us the path of calming the mind. / The elements are illusory like a mirage or a reflected image. / This world of beings is produced by concepts. / We go for refuge to the Three Jewels, who are ready to answer our prayers.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>64</sup>. Dict. 401 s.v. *śśūka-*: ‘without ignorance ... the mind alone’.

<sup>65</sup>. BHSD 376 s.v., PED 383 s.v., DP 3.29 s.v. *paccattam*.

<sup>66</sup>. See the text in Nanjio 1923: 39 ll. 13–16 and Suzuki 1930: 101–105, 421–423 s.v. *pratyātmāryajñāna* (lists of various compounds with *pratyātmajñāna*, *pratyātmagati*, etc.).

<sup>67</sup>. Horiuchi 2017: 73 (reference from Chen Ruixuan).

<sup>68</sup>. KT 6.132.

<sup>69</sup>. Catalogue 175.

<sup>70</sup>. See SGS 262–263, 283 for the ending.

<sup>71</sup>. Ed. Kurumiya 1978: 67; trans. 84000 *The Ratnaketu dhāraṇī* § 3.62 (reference from Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā).

This is not quoted literally, however, but is amplified and elaborated along different lines in the following verses. Notice especially 78 *ttätä jađī dvāsu . pabastau jsīrgye hanāsä* ‘these twelve (parts in the chain of dependent origination) (are) ignorance, (are) continuously deceptions (and) error’ recalling Skt. *māyā* ... *dhātavah* ‘the elements are illusory’; 79 *ggandharvanaggarä ṣa kamtha* ‘the city of Gandharvanagara (i.e. the fata morgana mirage)’ recalling Skt. *marīci-* ‘mirage’; 82 [*pīsä*], 83 *pīsä* ‘statue’ recalling Skt. *pratimā-* ‘image’; and 80 *uī loviye daśte hamatä samkalpä vikalpi* ‘the senses fit for ordinary life are themselves (only) a fancy, a false discrimination’ recalling Skt. *saṃkalpamātrajanito vata jīvaloko* ‘this world of beings is produced [only] by concepts’ (cf. also 82 *saṃkalpa-mātrā* ‘is only fancy’ etc.).

The Late Khotanese spelling *baysä* ‘Buddha’ of the manuscript has obviously to be restored to its Old Khotanese form *ba<l>ysä* to obtain a regular cadence - - - - -.

76 For *dvāsu ttätä aṃgga* ‘These twelve parts (in the chain of dependent origination)’, cf. Z 5.56 *dharma / biśsä dvāsu pāśkala kā’ña* ‘all the *dharma*s are ... to be conceived as twelve parts’.

77 The first hemistich is clearly hypermetrical and must contain an interpolation. To be expunged is probably the adjective *handaru* ‘other’, as Nicholas Sims-Williams suggests to me. The copyist may have been influenced by the occurrence of the phrase *handa[ru rūvu]* in the following hemistich (assuming that this restoration is correct).

For the tentative restoration of the final pāda, cf. Z 2.208 *härju vara ttatvatu ništä / kho ye cā’ya-närmätu daiyä* ‘In reality they are not actually there, just as one sees what is magic-created’; 4.74 *cu ye brätä jsānye kei’tä / ttu ye hūña buddamu daiyä / kho ye halci daiyä kho īyä / härju vara ttatvatu ništä* ‘One mostly sees in a dream that which one thinks while awake, as one sees anything, as it would be. There is not really an object there’; 2.161 *härä ju vara ttatvatu nästi / biśsä hāde ṣtānye dätte . ttrāma hära cu buro diyäre / härju vara ttatvatu nisti* ‘a thing does not really exist there, but every one appears. Whatever such things appear, a thing does not really exist there’; 22.271 *hūni māñande asāre härju vari ttatvatä ništä* ‘They [i.e. the karmically conditioned factors] are like a dream, unsubstantial. Nothing there really exists’.

78 *hanāsä* ‘error’ is variously translated as ‘Annahme’ by Leumann, ‘grasp, assumption (of a theory)’ by Bailey (who supposes an equivalence with Buddhist Skt. *grāha-* ‘(heretical, erroneous) belief’), ‘hypothesis’ by Ronald E. Emmerick (who supposes an equivalence with Skt. *viparyāsa-* ‘error, delusion’), ‘irrigate Vorstellung, Irrtum’ by Almuth Degener, and ‘distraction’ by Skjærvø.<sup>72</sup> Bailey and Emmerick followed thus the interpretation by Leumann, who connected *hanāsa-* with the Iranian root *\*Hnać-* ‘to reach, attain, take’,<sup>73</sup> but the word is rather related to the verb *hanaśś-* ‘to go astray’ <*\*nać-* ‘to disappear, perish’<sup>74</sup> and thus means ‘error, distraction’, a meaning that suits all of its occurrences.

<sup>72</sup> Leumann 1933–1936: 518 s.v. <sup>2</sup>*hanāsa-* (Z 7.28, 32); Bailey, KT 6.385 s.v. *hanāsä*, Dict. 451–452 s.v. *hanāsa-* (cf. BHSD 219 s.v. *-grāha*); Emmerick 1968: 131 (Z 7.28, 32), 1977a: 88 (*Vajracchedikā* II), 1997: 84, 88 (*Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra* 9–10, 29) (cf. BHSD 493 s.v. *viprayāsa*); Degener 1989: 11; Skjærvø, Catalogue 175.

<sup>73</sup> See Leumann 1933–1936: 518 s.v.; cf. Dict. 451–452 s.v. (there is no etymology in KT 6.385 s.v. *hanāsä*) and EDIV 183–184 s.v. *\*Hnas-*.

<sup>74</sup> See Degener 1989: 11 s.v. *hanāsa-*; cf. SGS 146 s.v. *hanaśś-* and EDIV 282–284 s.v. *nas-*.

For the tentative restoration of the final pāda, cf. the third pāda in Z 5.54 *pracyau jsa hära panamāre / pracyau jsa vātcā ni byaure . ku ye pracyā rraṣtu paysendā / puṣṣo ātma-samñā nihuśdā* ‘Things arise through *pratyāyas* [causes]. Then through *pratyāyas* they cease to exist. When one rightly understands the *pratyāyas*, the *samjñā* of self utterly disappears’.

79 The formulaic expression restored at the end of the verse occurs in similar metrical contexts in Z 4.32, 4.60, 4.64, 4.77, 5.64, and 9.19 and is to be partially restored in Z 14. 51, 54.<sup>75</sup>

80 Bailey’s interpretation of *ggrrī-* as a past participle meaning ‘held, raised (?)’ from the simplex contained in ‘*hamggrīh-* “to lift”’ is untenable, if only because the past participle of *hamggrīh-* is *hamgrauṭṭa-*.<sup>76</sup> Instead, *ggrrī-* may be seen as the compound form of unattested Khotanese \**ggrrīvā-* ‘person’, which is cognate with the Sogdian feminine noun *γryw* ‘self, person, soul, body; (one)self’ etc. < Ir. \**grīūā-* ‘nape’ (cf. Old Indian *grīvā-*).<sup>77</sup> This *ggrrī-* is < \**ggrrīva-* (with short *-a-* in composition) like *śśī-* < *śśīya-* ‘white’ (< Ir. \**ćuaita-*) in OKh. *śśī-phīsa-* ‘white coloured’<sup>78</sup> and *ī-* ‘one’ < \**īva-* (< Ir. \**aiua-*) in OKh. *ī-garśā* ‘with one throat’.<sup>79</sup> Bailey’s supplement *ggrrī- < pā > ysā* is palaeographically unjustified. At first, I supplemented *ru* in *ggrrī-ysā < ru > u* on account of the almost identical shape of the akṣaras *ru* and *u*, which are distinguished only by a vertical stroke in *ru* between the akṣara head and the subscript vowel (contrast 77 *handaru* and 80 *u*).<sup>80</sup> Since such a supplement would result in a 10-mora cadence exceptionally ending with *-~*, Sims-Williams suggests emending manuscript *ggrrī-ysā u* straightaway to \**ggrrī-ysāru*, giving a common 9-mora cadence *-~ - - -*. This leaves the minor irregularity of a subsequent segment of 2 morae (*uī* *~*) in place of 3 morae before the final cadence, but I find that the irregularity is easily removed by assuming a trivial haplography and by supplementing *uī* to *⟨u⟩ uī*. The emendation is confirmed by the obvious correspondence of <sup>o</sup>*vaktrrä*, \*<sup>o</sup>*ysäru*, and <sup>o</sup>*dasta* with the standard Indian triad *vāc-* ‘speech’, *kāya-* ‘body’, and *manas-* ‘mind’.<sup>81</sup>

80–81 The restoration of two occurrences of *sambā[rä]* ‘equipment to awakening’ (BSkt. *sambhāra-* ‘equipment for (those destined for) enlightenment’)<sup>82</sup> in verses 80 and

75. Cf. Maggi 2020: 176–177.

76. See Dict. 92 s.v. *ggrrī* and cf. SGS 138.

77. See Filippone 2017 with references to earlier literature and cf. ESIJa 3.291–292 and EWAia 1.509.

78. Cf. Skjærvø 2004: vol. 2, 347.

79. Cf. Degener 1987: 66 and Canevascini 1993: 128 (where the reference ‘P 2781, 88; KT 3, 27’ for LKh. *ī-garśā* is wrong for ‘P 2781, 87–88; KT 3, 69’).

80. Admittedly, all three other occurrences of the nominative singular of *ysära-* ‘heart’ in the *Book of Zambasta* have the ending *-ä*. However, ‘[t]he ending *-u* is expected for the N[ominative] S[ingular] n[euter] < OIr. \*-am ... cf. Sogd. -w ... In O.Kh., *ysäru* is frequently found, e.g. Z 13. 59, for the NS of *ysära-* “1000” (cf. Av. *hazayra-* n.)’ and there are other traces of the ending *-u* (SGS 253). *ggrrī-ysā < ru > u* might be one such trace, as the word, thematicised in Khotanese, was originally neuter, cf. Av. *zərəd-* (n.) and OInd. *hṛd-* (n.).

81. Suffice it to mention, for instance, *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* 15, 16, 17 *kāya-vāñ-mano-duścaritam* ‘méfait ... de corps, de parole, de pensée/d’esprit’ (Lévi 1932: 44, 119–120, cf. Kudo 2004: 70–71, 74–75); Khotan *Dharmapada* 211, 212 *kaya-kamu vayi-kamu mano-kama* (Brough 1962: 152) ‘action of body, action of speech, action of mind’. The triad does not occur only in Buddhist texts, cf. e.g. *mano-vāk-karman-* ‘thoughts and words and deeds’ and *mano-vāg-deha-ja-* ‘resulting from th[oughts] and w[ords] and d[eeds] (lit. mind, speech and body)’ in the *Manusmṛti* (MW 785 s.v. *mano*).

82. BHSD 580.

81 is probable, as the statement that the equipment to awakening, albeit necessary, is also a deception due to false discrimination is in line with a statement such as Z 7.19 *ttäna ju ne pṛrāptā / buddha-dharmānu karā . nä ju vā jiṅga / gyadī āstanna hārā* ‘Therefore, there is no arising really of the *Buddhadharmas*, nor is there any disappearance of a thing such as ignorance’. The *bodhi-sambāra*- ‘equipment to awakening’ is dealt with in Z 10, where it is described as sevenfold: Z 10.3 *ttathāggatta-ggarbhī ttīma / bodhi-sambārai hoda / kṣāta’ pārāmate mulysdā / balysūtā hamgaśśo ttanda* ‘The *tathāgatagarbha* is its [i.e. of awakening] seed. It has seven *bodhisambhāras*: the six *pāramitās*, compassion. Such is *bodhi* [awakening] in summary’. The restoration of *sambāra*- ‘equipment to awakening’ in 80–81 is also supported by the matching ‘carving tools’ for woodworking (*hamjsārrā-*) that in 82–83 are likewise said to result from false discrimination (see below).

81 *hamdurna* is a hapax. Bailey translates *baurā hamdurna* as ‘snow drift’, ‘heap of snow’<sup>83</sup> and oscillates between a masculine stem *hamdurna-* and a feminine *hamdurnā-*, which he connects with ‘Av. *ham-dvar-* “assemble” ...; *handvarəna-* “assembly”’.<sup>84</sup> Skjærvø does not translates *hamdurna* and, in doing so, implicitly rejects Bailey’s etymology possibly because he has provided evidence which indicates that Ir. \**du-* resulted in Kh. *v-*.<sup>85</sup> In my opinion, Bailey’s suggestion of an Iranian action noun \**hamduar-ana-*<sup>86</sup> from \**duar-* ‘to run’<sup>87</sup> as the antecedent of Kh. *hamdurna-* is plausible because the prehistoric accent shift to the prefix<sup>88</sup> may have caused the reduction of unstressed \*-*dua-* to -*du-* before \**du* developed to *v* in Khotanese. However, *hamdurna* is probably nominative-accusative plural from *hamdurna-*, masculine like the Avestan cognate, rather than singular from a feminine *hamdurnā-* as Bailey apparently has it. For the simile, cf. Z 24.458 *puñyau karma jiyāre / samu kho ggare vīrā / baura jīye hamānu* ‘*karmas* disappear through merits just as the snow on the mountains disappears in summer’.

82 *samkalpa-mātrā ātma* ‘The self is only fancy’ may be compared with Z 4.5 *uysāno trāma kho dyūlä / ṣa samu parikalpa ni karma* ‘The self indeed is such as a deception. That is mere *parikalpa*, not *karmas*’.

The meaning of *gge’ha* ‘piece of wood’ is assured by bilingual evidence in Suv 5.15, where it translates Skt. *kāṣṭha-*.<sup>89</sup> Bailey proposes that *gge’ha* refers here to ‘the splinter which struck the Buddha’ mentioned in Z 13.81 *dātīnei ttarandari balysä / khwei ño khā pau vätä ggei’ha* ‘The Buddha’s body is the *Dharmakāya*, so that a piece of wood [Emmerick: an arrow-shaft] would surely not wound him on the foot’. Given that the passage under consideration is about selflessness and impermanence, reference to a piece of wood might remind one of the quotation from the *Lalitavistara* in Z 6.5 *kauṭīmñā*

<sup>83</sup>. The ending -ā of *baurā* is occasionally found in Old Khotanese beside -e for genitive-dative singular -e in ā-declension words not showing palatalisation (SGS 273–274) like the instrumental-ablative singular *hote jsa* beside palatalised *hvete jsa* from *hotā-* ‘power’ (cf. Hitch 1990: 189–191 §§ 8.4, 10.4).

<sup>84</sup>. Dict. 306 s.v. *baura* and esp. 454 s.v. *hamdurna*; cf. AirW 1772 s.v. *han-dvarəna-*.

<sup>85</sup>. See Skjærvø 1985.

<sup>86</sup>. Rather than \**ham-dur-ana-* with zero grade root, which is rarely found with -*ana-* action nouns. Cf. AiGr 2.2.185 § 82.a and 187 § 82.c.

<sup>87</sup>. See EDIV 83–84 s.v. \**duar-*.

<sup>88</sup>. See Leumann 1926.

<sup>89</sup>. See Skjærvø 2004: 261 s.v. *ggei’hā-*.

tcei'mä aniccä / dukhi ttuśśai trāmu anātmä / kho ju ggūli o vā ggei'ha / väna ātme jīvätä satvä ‘Kauṇḍinya, the eye is impermanent, suffering, empty, and so devoid of self as a clump [of clay] or a piece of wood, without self, life, being’.<sup>90</sup> Still closer, however, is the mention of *candanä* ‘sandalwood’ in the story of the statue of the Buddha made by the craftsman god Viśvakarman for King Udayana that is narrated in Z 23.33–53 and the subsequent three-folio lacuna, where the words *pīsa-* ‘work of art, statue’ and *hamjsārrā-* ‘carving tools’ also occur as here in 82–83 (Z 23.44 *candanä* ‘sandalwood’, 49 *pīsä*, 51 *hamjsārrō*).

The interpretation of *hamjsārra* is problematic. The word also occurs in the accusative singular as Z 23.51 *hamjsārrō* and, in Late Khotanese, as *Karmām deśana* 23 *hamjsāri* (MS A) = *hajsāra* (MS B). Leumann inferred the meaning ‘Umwandlung’ from the context in Z 23.51 and later Bailey and Emmerick followed him and translated ‘transformation’.<sup>91</sup> Bailey then changed his mind and proposed ‘drawing (lines)’, ‘designing, drawing’.<sup>92</sup> Apparently in line with this, Skjærvø adopted ‘\*art works’ in his translation of the passage under consideration, although Emmerick had confirmed Leumann’s translation on the basis of the discovery by Inokuchi Taijun of the Chinese parallel in the *Dasheng zaoxiang gongde jīng* 大乘造像功德經 (T 694, *Tathāgata-pratibimbapratīṣṭhānuśāṃsa*).<sup>93</sup> In his opinion, Ch. jí biàn qí shēn 卽變其身 ‘Then he transformed his body’ corresponds to Z 23.51 *ttīyi hamjsārrō harbiśśu nātē* ‘Then he underwent a complete transformation’ (i.e. the god disguised himself as a human carver) with *biàn* 變 ‘change’ = *hamjsārrō*.<sup>94</sup> As equivalent of the single Khotanese clause *ttīyi hamjsārrō harbiśśu nātē*, however, Inokuchi gives the three Chinese clauses *jí biàn qí shēn*, *ér wéi jiàng zhě, chí zhū lìqì* 卽變其身, 而為匠者, 持諸利器 (T 694, vol. 16, 790c6)<sup>95</sup> ‘Immediately he transformed his body, became a craftsman, took all the carving tools’. As Chen Ruixuan suggests to me, ‘the part corresponding to *hamjsārrō harbiśśu nātē* is rather 持諸利器 “[he] took all the carving tools” and in this case, *hamjsārrā-* is the counterpart of 利器 “carving tools”’.<sup>96</sup> This conclusion is lent support by the occurrence of *zhū* 諸 = *harbiśśu* ‘all’ in the relevant clauses. In the folio studied here, the wood to be worked (82 *gge'ha*), the carving tools (82, 83 *hamjsārra*), and the statue carved therefrom (82 *[pīsä]*, 83 *pīsä*) are all concrete objects that are said to be only false assumptions. The meaning ‘carving tools’ suits also the occurrence in *Karmām deśana* 21–23, which conveys a similar concept:

<sup>90</sup>. Trans. after Chen and Loukota Sanclemente 2018: 146–153, esp. 146.

<sup>91</sup>. Leumann 1933–1936: 296; KT 6.379–380 s.v. *hamjsārrō*; Emmerick 1968: 351 (Z 23.51), 1977b: 98, 114 (*Karmām deśana* 23).

<sup>92</sup>. Dict. 444 s.v. *hajsārra* and 446 s.v. *hamjsārra*.

<sup>93</sup>. Inokuchi 1961: 364–388, esp. 372.

<sup>94</sup>. See Emmerick in Studies 1.122–123 s.v. *hamjsārra*, where he points out that Bailey ‘[f]or KD [23] ... retains the earlier meaning “change” in the Dict. s.v. *ttaurā*’ and that ‘he renders it “sphere” [n. 1: As if it were *hamjsāra* ...] in his translation of the same passage in Dict. s.v. *gge'ha*’. Bailey was certainly aware of the Chinese parallel since elsewhere he equates ‘the *bārraa-* [that] make the image of Buddha for Udayana [with] Chinese parallel texts *kung-k'iau-tṣi-żən* “skilled workmen”’ (Dict. 278 s.v. *bārrai*, cf. *gōngqiǎo zhī rén* 工巧之人, T 694, vol. 16, 790b12).

<sup>95</sup>. Text from <http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/T16n0694>.

<sup>96</sup>. Chen Ruixuan further informs me that ‘this seems also to be the way in which Duan Qing understands Z 23.51 in her Chinese translation of this chapter’ (‘*ttīyi hamjsārrō harbiśśu nātē thato vāśṭo vahāṣṭā yúshì ná qǐ zhū lìqì, xùnsù xiàfán xiàng rénjiān* 于是拿起诸利器, 迅速下凡向人间 [So he picked up all the carving tools, he quickly descended to the earth]’, Duan 2013: 140–141).

21    *cu biśi hīra aśtā nikṣvī̄da>    tte karma biśi buri haiysda .*  
       *aśte jsa aśti khu jīye .    śkāmjaus jsa karma khu jāre ||*  
 22    *śi' sam drām khu jī hve nāste    uysmānai piṇḍai dūrā .*  
       *tteye jsa mī ttaurā nirūje .    virai jsām sam khu ysaiye ||*  
 23    *cu vā hamjsāri biysaśte    ttī pyamtsi ttauri ni byehe .*  
       *karya-vī̄ ttusūma jsāte    cu vina rū śūnyatta nāste ||*

<sup>21</sup>Since all things promote existence, one's karmas are present continually. How does existence due to existence cease? How do karmas due to (karmically) conditioned factors cease? <sup>22</sup>It is just like such a man as takes hold of a lump of clay, a clod. Then there is a wall (built) from it, (but the lump of clay itself) is destroyed right there just when (the wall) is produced.<sup>97</sup> <sup>23</sup>When (that man) takes hold of carving tools (*hamjsāri*) (and sculpts something in the wall), then he does not find the (solid) wall before him (any longer). His labour proceeds in vain since he takes hold of emptiness, (which is) without form.<sup>98</sup>

Leumann derived *hamjsārrā*-, in the meaning 'Umwandlung' postulated by him, from Indo-Iranian \**sam-čāranā*<sup>99</sup> and Bailey followed suit by reconstructing Ir. \**ham-čāranā*- and comparing Buddhist Skt. *vi-kurvanā*- 'the ability to assume various shapes',<sup>100</sup> both from the IIr. root \**kar-* 'to do, make'.<sup>101</sup> Once Bailey preferred interpreting *hamjsārrā*- as 'drawing', he still posited an antecedent \**ham-čāranā*- but suggested that the root involved is 'possibly *kār-* "draw lines" rather than *kar-* "make"'.<sup>102</sup> The meaning 'carving tools' established on the basis of bilingual evidence indicates that *hamjsārrā*- goes back to Ir. \**ham-čarθ-nā*- from the root \**kart-* 'to cut', also continued in the Khotanese verb *patält-* 'to cut off' < Ir. \**pati-kṛt-a-*, and contains the suffix *-nā*- which forms substantives mainly from roots in full grade as in the present case.<sup>103</sup> The outcome *hamjsārrā*- < Ir. \**ham-čarθ-nā*- is regular. The development \*-rθn- > -rr- is also to be seen in Kh. *hatārra* 'once (Latin *semel*)' < Ir. \**hakṛθ-nā* (instrumental singular of an adjective \**hakṛθ-na-*; cf. Av. *hakərət* 'once')<sup>104</sup> and parallels the development \*-ršn- > -rr- in *ttarra-* 'thirst' < Ir. \**tr̥šna-* (cf. Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā-*, Av. *taršna-*). The compensatory

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Skjærvø's translation 'the wall \*is destroyed right there just when it is produced' in Studies 2.69 s.v. *narūj-*.

<sup>98</sup> Ed. Emmerick 1977b: 92–93 with modifications. The translation of this difficult passage (cf. the problematic rendition by Emmerick 1977b: 98) owes much to suggestions made by Chen Ruixuan, especially the idea that the subjects of *nirūje* 'is destroyed' and *ysaiye* 'is produced' must be the building material and the wall respectively, the idea that here 'carving tools' (*hamjsāri*) imply sculpting, and the reading *karya-vī̄ ttusūma jsāte* 'His labour proceeds in vain' instead of Emmerick's *karya vī̄ ... 'He proceeds with vain exertion'* (cf. Z 24.440: *biśśo karyo merā / śā hve* 'ttusūma yīndā / kye handaru jsīndā / haysānandai śtānā 'That man who knowingly slays another makes empty all the mother's labour').

<sup>99</sup> Leumann 1933–1936: 517 s.v.

<sup>100</sup> MW 954.

<sup>101</sup> KT 6.379–380 s.v. *hamjsārra*.

<sup>102</sup> Dict. 446 s.v. *hamjsārra* (on p. 444 s.v. *hajsārra* one still reads that 'the base may be *kar-* "to make"').

<sup>103</sup> See EDIV 243–244 s.v. \**kart'*, SGS 67 s.v. *patält-* for the root and AiGr 2.2.732–734 § 561 for the suffix. Though *-nā*- derivatives are basically action nouns, they can develop a concrete meaning, e.g. Kh. *byāna-* 'bridle' < IIr. \**abi-dhāna-*, cf. Av. <sup>°</sup>*aiwiδāna-* etc. (see Dict. 308 s.v.). Cf. also, with the suffix *-jā-* (AiGr 2.824–826), Pashto *čāṛā* 'large knife, dagger' < \**kartjā-* (Morgenstierne 2003: 21) and Shughni *čēd* 'knife, sword' (Morgenstierne 1974: 25 s.v. *čād*; cf. Karamšoев 1988–1999: vol. 3, 351 s.v. *čēd*).

<sup>104</sup> See Leumann 1920: 33 and Emmerick 1980: 171.

lengthening \*-arθn- > -ārr- can be compared with \*-arn- > -ār- in *kārra-* ‘deaf’ < Ir. \**karna-* (cf. Av. *karəna-*).<sup>105</sup>

Bailey restores *sam[kalpa]* and translates ‘*samkalpa*-thought only ...’, which implies a restoration *sam[kalpa-mātr-]*.<sup>106</sup> Sims-Williams aptly suggests restoring *sam[ñā-]* - ~, which provides the expected 3-mora segment after a 9-mora cadence, instead of *sam[kalpa-]* - - ~, which would cause a hypermetrical hemistich. Actually, the adjective *samñā-mātraa-* ‘being only imagination’ occurs several times in a similar metrical position straddling the pāda onset and the cadence as here in the restoration *sam[ñā-mātrei pīsä]* - ~ | - - - ~: cf. Z 4.52 (2×) *samu samñā-mātrā ūtca / dai samñā-mātrai kṣāri* ‘The water is merely *samñā* alone, fire *samñā* alone, lye’, Z 4.80 *ttāna samñā-mātrai lovi* ‘Therefore is the world *samñā* alone’, and Z 9.20 (3×) *ttāna samñā-mātrai lovā / ttāna samñā-mātre śkoṇgye / ttāna samñā-mātrā dharma* ‘Therefore, the world is mere imagination. Therefore, the *samskāras* are mere imagination. Therefore, *dharma*s are mere imagination’, all scanning - - - ~ | - - - ~.

On the meaning of *[pīsä]* see next.

83 The meaning of *pīsa-* ‘work of art, sculpture, carving; art, skill; profession’, here specifically ‘statue’ (cf. Z 23.49 *pīsä*) has been discussed in detail by Sims-Williams.<sup>107</sup>

84 For the pure mind likened to a sky without clouds, cf. Z 2.176 *trāmu tvī aysmū balysa / oṣku väte vasvätā aggamjsä / samu kho ātāśi vasuśi / vāno pyaurāṇu patīśu* ‘Such is your mind, Buddha, always pure, faultless, just as the sky is pure without clouds in autumn’<sup>108</sup> and Z 9.3 *samu kho ātāśi pātemīndi / pyaure ttrāmī kraiśa / ttathāggattaggarbhā vasutā hāde / kho ātāśā hamraśtu* ‘Just as the clouds darken the sky, so do *kleśas* (the *tathāgatagarbha*). But the *tathāgatagarbha* is always as pure as the sky’.

<sup>105</sup> See Emmerick 1980: 167–168. Alternatively, should *hamjsārrā-* simply mean ‘tools’ and not specifically ‘carving tools’, Sims-Williams convincingly proposes \**ham-čarnā-*, cognate with Persian *afzār* ‘tool’ < Ir. \**abi-čarna-* (and \**upa-čāra-*, cf. Armenian *aučār* but *pačār* respectively), Zoroastrian Middle Persian *abzār* ‘instrument, means; spice’ (MacKenzie 1986: 4 s.v.), Manichaean Middle Persian ‘*bc’r* [*abzār*] ‘materials, means’, Manichaean Parthian ‘*bc’r* [*ābžār*] ‘id.’ (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004: 4, 8–9 s.vv.), and with the loanwords Biblical and Official Aramaic *šrn* ‘furnishings’ and Elamite *ha-za-ir-na(-um)*, *ha-za-ra-an-na* ‘id.’ ← Old Iranian *ā-čarna-*, etc. (see Henning 1958: 34 n. 7; Tavernier 2007: 437 with further references).

<sup>106</sup> See Dict. 446 s.v. *hamjsārra*.

<sup>107</sup> See Sims-Williams in Studies 3.94–96 s.v. *pīsā*.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Skjærvø 1981: 463–465, esp. 465, and in Studies 1.68 s.v. *patīśu*.

## Glossary

An arrow → refers to fuller information to be found in the commentary. Abbreviations: 3 = third person; A = accusative; act. = active; adj. = adjective; adv. = adverb(ial); conj. = conjunction; f(.) = feminine; f. = feminine noun; GD = genitive-dative; IA = instrumental-ablative; indic. = indicative; intr. = intransitive; L = locative; m(.) = masculine; m. = masculine noun; mid. = middle; N = nominative; NA = nominative-accusative; P = plural; postp. = postposition; pp. = past participle; prep. = preposition; prf. = perfect; pron. = pronoun; prs. = present; S = singular; tr. = transitive; vb. = verb.

**aggamjsa-** adj. ‘faultless’: LSm *aggamjsu* 75.

**amgga-** m. ‘part (in the chain of dependent origination)’: NS *amggä* 73; NAP *amgga* 76.

**anāstana-** adj. ‘without beginning’: NSm *anāstanä* 76.

**abhāva-** m. ‘non-existence’: IAS *abhāvāna* 78.

**aysmua-** m. ‘mind’: NS *aysmū* 84; GDS *aysmuū* 84.

**avadanda-** adj. ‘uncreated’: NAP *avadanda* 79.

**ah-, [väta-]** vb. ‘exist’: negative 3S prs. indic. act. *ništä* 73 79 84, *[ništä]* 77.

**āgāśa-** m. ‘sky’: NS *āgāśä* 84.

**ātmā-** f. ‘self’: NS *ātma* 82.

**ī-** emphatic particle: *śi* (+ *śä*) 75.

**īñä** postp. ‘on account of’: *īñä* 76.

**īs-, [īṣta-]** vb. ‘to return’: 3S prs. ind. mid. *īste* 74.

**u** conj. ‘and’: *u* 80 81 83 83.

**uī** f. ‘senses’: NAP *uī* 80.

**kamthā-** f. ‘city’: NS *kamtha* 79.

**karju ni** adv. phrase ‘not at all’: *karju ni* 84.

**ka[** 74→.

**kā[** 83.

**ku** conj. ‘when’: *ku* 78.

**kho** conj. ‘as, like’: *kho* 77 83.

**ggandharvanaggara-** m. ‘Gandharvanagara (= fata morgana)’: GDS *ggandharvanaggara* 79.

**gge'ha-** f. ‘(piece of) wood’: NS *gge'ha* 82→.

**ggrī-dasta-** m. ‘a person’s hand’: NAP *ggrī-dasta* 80→.

**ggrī-ysära-** m. ‘a person’s heart’: NS *\*ggrī-ysäru* 80→.

**ggrī-vaktrra-** m. ‘a person’s mouth’: NS *ggrī-vaktrrä* 80→.

**cā'yi-** f. ‘magic’: LS *cā'ya* 77.

**cu** see *kye*.

**kye** relative pron. ‘which’: N inanimate *cu* 73 83; GD *kye* 73.

**jadīa-** m. ‘ignorance’: NS *jadī* 78 83 84; GDS *jadī* 84; IAS *gyađīna* 73, *jadīna* 76.

**ju** indefinite particle: *ju* 77 84. See also *karju ni, hära-*.

**jñāna-** m. ‘knowledge’: NS *jñānä* 81.

**jsīrgyā-** f. ‘deception’: NAP *jsīrgye* 78.

**tta** adv. ‘thus’: *tta* 75.

**ttatvatu** adv. ‘in reality’: *[ttatvatu]* 77.

**ttathāggataggarbha-** m. ‘germ of a Tathāgata’: NS *ttathāggataggarbhä* 74.

**ttamda-** adj. ‘only’: NSf *ttamda* 81.

**ttärä** see *śāra-*.

**ttätä** see *śätä-*.

**ttu** see *śa-*.

**ttrāmu** adv. ‘so, like that’: *ttrāmu* 78 79 83.

**daśa-** m. ‘banner’: GDS *daśi* 75.

**daśta-** adj. ‘fit’: NAPf *daśte* 80.

**dasta-** see *ggrī-dasta*.

**däta-** see *dai-*.

**dai-, däta-** vb. ‘to see’: 3S prs. indic. act. *daiyä* 73; 3S prf. tr. m. *däte* 77.

**dyüla-** m. ‘deception’: NS *dyülä* 81 81.

**dvāsu** cardinal numeral ‘twelve’: NA *dvāsu* 76 78.

**nä** adv. ‘not’: *ni* 74 74→, *\*nä* 79, *ne* 78. See also *karju ni*.

**närmän-, [närmäta-]** vb. ‘to conjure up’: 3S prs. indic. act. *närmändä* 77.

**ništä** see *ah-*.

**ne** see *nä*.

**padanda-** see *[padīm-]*.

**[padīm-], padanda-** vb. ‘to produce’: pp. NSf *\*padanda* 79. See also *avadanda-*.

**pabastau** adv. ‘continuously’: *paba/stau* 73, *paba<stau>* 76, *pabastau* 78.

**paysän-, paysända-** vb. ‘to understand’: 3S prs. indic. act. *[paysendä]* 78.

**parikalpa-māttraa-** adj. ‘being only false assumption’: NSf *parikalpa-māttrā* 82.

**pātco** adv. ‘furthermore’: *pātco* 77.

**pīsa-** m. ‘statue’: NS *[pīsä]* 82, *pīsä* 83→.

**pyaurā-** f. ‘cloud’: GDP *[pyaurānu]* 84.

**pracaa-** m. ‘cause’: GDS *pracai* 76; NAP

[*prracā*] 78.

**prattyātmaggaucara-** m. ‘realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata)’: NS *prattyātmaggaucarā* 76→, GDS *prattyātmaggaucarā* 73.

**balysa-** m. ‘Buddha’: NS *ba(l)ysä* 75→.

**biḍā-** f. ‘deceit’: NS *biḍa* 81.

**bäysān-, bāysānda-** vb. ‘to wake up (intr.)’: pp. GDSm *bäysādye* 74.

**biśśā-** adj. ‘all’: NAPm *biśśä* 79.

**baurā-** f. ‘snow’: GDS *baurä* 81.

**byau-, [byauda-]** vb. ‘to be found’: 3S prs. indic. mid. *byaude* 84, 3P prs. indic. mid. *byaure* 78.

**briyūna-** adj. ‘lovely’: NSm *briyūnä* 75.

**māñ-, [\*mānda-]** vb. ‘to resemble’: 3S prs. indic. act. *māñtä* 75.

**mu[ 76**

**yāva** prep. ‘up to’: *yāva* 83.

**ye** indefinite pron. ‘one’: N [*ye*] 78.

**ysära-** see *ggrrī-ysära-*.

**ratanīnaa-** adj. ‘jewelled’: GDSm *ratanīnai* 75.

**ratnaketta-** m. title of a text ‘*Ratnaketu(pari-varta)*’: LS *ratnakettu* 75→.

**rraṣṭu** adv. ‘rightly’: [*rraṣtu*] 78.

**rūva-** m. ‘form, shape’: NS *rūvā* 83; AS *rūvu* 77, [*rūvu*] 77.

**lovia-** adj. ‘ordinary, pertaining to ordinary life’: NSm *lovī* 81; NAPf *loviye* 80.

**vaktrra-** see *ggrrī-vaktrra-*.

**vara** adv. ‘there’: [*vara*] 77.

**vikalpa-** m. ‘false discrimination’: NS *vikalpi* 80; NAP *vikalpa* 81.

**vikalpa-māttraa-** adj. ‘being only false discrimination’: NSf *vikalpa-māttrā* 82.

**vijñāna-** m. ‘consciousness’: NS *vijñānä* 83.

**viñāna-** m. ‘consciousness’: NS *viñānä* 74.

**vina, vāno** prep. ‘without’: *vina* 84 84, [*vāno*] 84.

**vūḍa-** adj. ‘encrusted’: *vūḍä* 75.

**śś-, [śśāta-]** vb. ‘to lie’: prs. participle *śśāna-*: GDSm *śśānye* 77.

**śśāna-** see *śś-*.

**śśūka-** adj. ‘alone’: NSm *śśūkä* 84.

**ṣa-, tta-** demonstrative pron. ‘that; he’: NSm *ṣi* (+ emphatic *-i*) 75; ASm *ttu* 73; NSf *ṣa*

79.

**ṣāra-, ttāra-** demonstrative pron. ‘that’: NAPm *ttārā* 78.

**ṣätä** reduplicated demonstrative pron. ‘this’: NAPm *ttätä* 76 78

**ṣkauṇjā-** f. ‘(karmically) conditioned factor’: NAP *ṣkauṇje* 83.

**ṣamkalpa-** m. ‘fancy’: NS *ṣamkalpä* 80; NAP *ṣamkalpa* 81.

**ṣamkalpa-māttraa-** adj. ‘being only fancy’: NSf *ṣamkalpa-māttrā* 82.

**ṣamñā-māttraa-** adj. ‘being only imagination’: NSm *ṣamñā-māttri* 82.

**ṣamñā-** f. ‘imagination’: NS *ṣamñā* 73 74; IAS [*ṣamñē jsa*] 79.

**ṣamu** adv. ‘only, just’: *ṣamu* 79 83 83.

**ṣambāra-** m. ‘equipment (to awakening)’: NS *ṣambā[rä]* 80 81→.

**ṣarvamñā-** adj. ‘all-knowing’: NSm *ṣarvamñä* 75.

**sai-, [sasta-]** vb. ‘to appear, seem’: 3P prs. indic. act. *saindä* 76, [*saindä*] 79.

**hamṣārrā-** f. (collective) ‘carving tools’: NS *hamṣārra* 82→ 83.

**hanāsa-** m. ‘error’: NS *hanāsä* 78→.

**handara-** adj. ‘other’: ASm *ṣhandaru* 77, *handar[u]* 77.

**hamdurna-** m. ‘heap’: NAP *hamdurna* 81→.

**hamata-** emphatic reflexive pron. ‘oneself’: NAPm *hamatä* 80.

**harays-, [haraṣṭa-]** vb. ‘to stretch out (intr.)’: 3S prs. indic. mid. *haraysde* 74.

**harbiśśā-** adj. ‘all’: NSm *harbiśśä* 74.

**hära-** m. ‘things’: NS (+ *ju*) [*härju*] 77; NAP *hira* 79.

**hirṣṭai** adv. ‘actually, really’: *hirṣtai* 79 84.

**hivia-** adj. ‘one’s own’: IASf *hivi[ñe]* 79.

**hūna-** m. ‘dream’: LS *hūna* 73, *hūna* 77.

\***hūštä** see *hūs-*.

**hūs-, [hūta-]** vb. ‘to sleep’: 3S prs. indic. act. \**hūštä* 74; prs. participle *hūsanda-*, f. *hūsamkyā-*: GDSm *hūsandä* 77; NSf *hūsamkyä* 73.

**hvata-** see *hvāñ-*.

**[hvāñ-], hvata-** vb. ‘to speak’: 3S prf. tr. m. *hva[te]* 75.

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Figure 1. Khotanese fragment IOL Khot 7/7 (Kha. 0012a), recto. The British Library, London. British Library Board.



Figure 2. Khotanese fragment IOL Khot 7/7 (Kha. 0012a), verso. The British Library, London. British Library Board.

